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ABSTRACT

The first Native American studies programs, created in the rising political consciousness of the late 1960s and early 1970s, arose from a rejection of traditional curricula and challenged stereotypes of Indians and their history. During the 1980s, Native studies programs became vehicles to recruit and retain American Indian students, reflecting concerns over minority attrition rates and affirmative action. In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, the increasingly multicultural makeup of American society and the emerging global economy focused attention on multiculturalism and cultural diversity in college curricula. One of the most notable trends in Native American studies has been the emergence of tribal colleges fostered by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. These colleges offer courses that play an important role in preserving tribal cultural identity. From political confrontation to affirmative action to multiculturalism, the presence of American Indians as both subjects of scholarship and scholars in their own right has created a new field of study that incorporates ideas such as tribal sovereignty, the relationship of cultural identity to land, the importance of culture in understanding the effects of first contacts between Europeans and Native Americans, the significance of Native languages as cognitive structures, and treaties and treaty rights. Several disciplines are involved, primarily anthropology, history, literary criticism, and legal studies. Native American studies has thus promoted a model of truly interdisciplinary learning. Contains endnotes and a bibliography. (TD)

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CHAPTER 12

The Vanishing Indian Reappears in the College Curriculum

CLARA SUE KIDWELL[1]

Since their inception in the late 1960s, Native American or American Indian studies programs have served as outlets for student political activism; as affirmative action programs to increase the number of Indian students at colleges and universities; and as intellectually coherent, interdisciplinary, academic programs. Their development and persistence in college curricula has both contributed to and been made possible by a growing body of scholarship that encompasses key themes of tribal sovereignty, cultural integrity, relationship with the land, and importance of Native languages for American Indian communities.

The History of Native American Studies

Native American studies programs in college curricula have changed significantly from their early inception in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first programs were created in the ferment of Indian activism and rising political consciousness marked by the Civil Rights movement and anti-Vietnam War sentiment of the time. The Civil Rights movement raised issues of equal access and affirmative ac-

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tion in higher education. The political activism spawned by U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War increased sensitivity to racism. Not without reason, activists compared the massacre of Vietnamese villagers by U.S. soldiers at My Lai with the massacres of Cheyenne families at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864 and Big Foot's band of Lakota (Sioux) at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890.

For American Indians, the abridgement of rights guaranteed in long-standing treaties was also a cause for activism. Yakamas, Puyallups, Makahs, and members of other local tribes staged "fish-ins" in Washington state in 1964 to assert fishing rights guaranteed by treaties. Iroquois people blockaded bridges between Canada and the United States to assert treaty rights of international free passage. Urban Indians in Minneapolis established the American Indian Movement to monitor police brutality against Indian people in the Franklin Avenue area of the city.[2]

The takeover of Alcatraz Island gave the burgeoning Red Power movement national visibility. On November 9, 1969, a small group of Indian students from the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State University occupied the abandoned federal prison on the island. Although they were forced off the island by federal marshals, a larger group retook the facility on November 20. The occupation lasted until June 11, 1971, attracting widespread media attention and sympathy for Indian causes.[3]

Creating a Center for Native American Studies at Alcatraz was one of the proposals made by the occupiers. The center would "train our young people in the best of our native cultural arts and sciences, as well as educate them in the skills and knowledge to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples." The proposal echoed earlier demands by Indian college students that had resulted in the creation of the first academic Native American Studies programs in major universities throughout the country. The students involved in the Alcatraz takeover had been taking courses in the programs at Berkeley and San Francisco State. Many left the classroom to participate in a real-life learning experience on "the Rock."[4]

These early Native American studies programs arose from a rejection of traditional curricula that ignored or misrepresented Native Americans, their cultures, and their place in American history. Indians wanted to learn about their own cultures and ways of serving their own communities. At Berkeley, the Native American studies

program was part of an Ethnic Studies Department approved by the faculty senate in response to the Third World Student Strike that shut down the university for about three weeks in the spring of 1969. At the University of Minnesota, students and administrators negotiated a proposed curriculum that would offer "an education that is adequate to deal with the complexities of contemporary Indian affairs."[5]

The complexities, however, were often submerged in rhetoric and polemic. The widespread popularity of Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* evoked waves of White middle-class guilt. The book was a catalog of injustices and massacres that contributed significantly to the idea that all Indians died out after 1890. Vine Deloria, Jr. countered the myth of the vanishing Indian in *Custer Died for Your Sins*, a critique of Indian stereotypes that left anthropologists dismayed and Indians with a new sense of righteousness.

Demands for Native American studies programs often grew out of the political and sometimes physical confrontations that accompanied the demands of Black students for Afro-American studies. In this atmosphere of hostility and challenges to the legitimacy of existing curricula, faculty and administrators were often highly suspicious of the academic content of newly formed programs. Consequently their support was lukewarm at best and nonexistent at worst, and many programs faded rather quickly from the academic scene.[6] At Minnesota, the Department of American Indian Studies was dismantled after a period of internal turmoil, and its faculty members were distributed throughout other departments. At the University of California at Davis, the Native American studies degree program was suspended for a time when faculty retirements seemed to threaten the stability of the department.

During the 1980s, however, Native American studies programs were given a new academic role. The initial fervor of Civil Rights protests settled into the more mundane routine of court cases and legislative processes that institutionalized newly asserted rights: affirmative action programs emerged out of national concern over equal employment opportunities and access to education. In 1982 Alexander Astin published an influential study, *Minorities in Higher Education*, and college administrators, confronted with appalling statistics on minority attrition rates, saw Indian Studies programs as vehicles to recruit and retain American Indian students. If Native

American students could take courses relevant to their own experiences, they reasoned, these students would flock to campuses in greater numbers, reversing their statistical underrepresentation. Many colleges and universities advertised Native American or American Indian studies programs that consisted of one or two history, anthropology, or English courses and perhaps a part-time student services person designated as an American Indian counselor.

In the late 1980s the rhetoric justifying recruitment of underrepresented groups shifted to issues of demography and American competitiveness in a global economy. In 1988 the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life produced an influential report on higher education, *One Third of a Nation*. It projected that by the year 2000, one-third of the U.S. population would be composed of members of minority groups—Asian, Black, Hispanic, and American Indian. The report brought home to politicians the fact that unless minorities became more involved in higher education, U.S. competitiveness in the world economy would suffer.

The increasingly multicultural makeup of American society also focused attention on issues of multiculturalism in the college curriculum. As the numbers of minority students increased, administrators and faculty turned to the rhetoric of cultural diversity in the curriculum. The administration of the University of California at Berkeley adopted the motto "Excellence in Diversity," and the faculty senate adopted a new graduation requirement—completion of a course comparing the experiences of at least three major ethnic groups in the United States. Stanford University gave instructors greater latitude to include new materials on their reading lists in the Western Civilization course required of all students for graduation. The call for multiculturalism resulted in a backlash against diversity of curricular offerings (*Black Elk Speaks* had joined and sometimes displaced Shakespeare in English course reading lists) and led to sometimes heated debates over the nature of the canon.[7]

In the 1990s legislation ended many affirmative action programs, discontinuing race-based scholarships and admissions programs. The fact that scholars continue to debate the very notion of race as a biological way of categorizing human beings only complicates the political issues of affirmative action.

Despite the changing academic politics of Native American studies, a number of programs still exist, and they have gained academic

legitimacy. The University of Arizona established a master's degree program in 1982 and added a doctoral degree in the area in 1996. The University of California at Los Angeles established the first master's degree program in Native American studies in 1985. Programs at the University of Minnesota and the University of California at Davis have been revived after periods of decline. Although a number of universities offer a minor in Native American or American Indian studies (e.g., University of Wyoming, University of Montana, Montana State University, University of South Dakota, and San Diego State University), only a few offer a full bachelor's degree program (University of Oklahoma, University of Minnesota, Bemidji State University, University of California at Berkeley, and University of North Carolina at Pembroke).[8]

One of the most notable trends in the development of Native American studies programs has been the emergence of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Beginning with the establishment of Navajo Community College by the Navajo Tribal Council in 1968, the number of colleges controlled by tribal councils or tribal boards has grown to 31. Although the colleges generally emphasize basic college courses and vocational education, many include courses that relate specifically to the history, language, and culture of the tribe. For example, Little Big Horn College offers a curriculum in Crow Studies, and Salish Kootenai College has a tribal studies curriculum. Staff members often include Native speakers of tribal languages and practitioners of traditional arts and cultural activities. These college courses play an important role in preservation of tribal cultural identity.[9]

Scholarship in Native American Studies

The establishment of Native American studies programs has resulted from and promoted the emergence of serious scholarly attention to Native American history, culture, and literature. The rhetoric of early Native American studies often challenged the stereotypes of Indians and their history (e.g., the hostile savage, the virgin land) that prevailed in traditional American history texts. Robert Berkhofer, noting the resurgent interest in Indians in the early 1970s, examined White perceptions of Indians in *The White Man's Indian* and illustrated how these perceptions had affected Indian-White relations in

the twentieth century. Richard Slotkin's monumental study of American literature *Regeneration Through Violence* traced the emergence of a uniquely American consciousness out of frontier contact and conflict with Indians.

Although various reports on the social, political, and legal conditions of Indian people appeared in the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until 1971 that the first major historical study of American Indian legal status appeared. Wilcomb Washburn's *Red Man's Land, White Man's Law* examined legal attitudes from Francisco de Vitoria (1526) to John Marshall (1831) to Supreme Court decisions of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1987 Charles Wilkinson emphasized the importance of legal status by pointing out that, except for Civil Rights legislation, "Indian law has been the vehicle for the modern analysis of laws enacted during the nation's first century of existence more frequently than any other body of law."[10]

Prompted by the demands of tribal leaders and militant activists for true self-government on Indian reservations, Congress reversed its policy of terminating congressional recognition of Indian tribes (enunciated in House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1954) by passing the *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* in 1975. This act was a major step forward in the assertion of Indians' rights to administer their own programs rather than relying upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and it helped crystallize the concept of tribes as exercising aboriginal sovereignty as nations. In 1984 Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle examined the concept of tribal sovereignty in *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. They discussed the development of Indian tribal governments and assessed the impact of activism that produced the takeovers of Alcatraz in 1969, the Wounded Knee trading post in 1973, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington in 1992. They called for reform of Indian tribal governments and renewal of Indian cultural traditions as bases for true tribal sovereignty.

In the field of history, new interpretations of American Indians emerged. Until the 1970s, the history of Indian tribes was generally political/military history of Indian defeats. In 1972, however, Wilbur Jacobs published *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*, and in 1975 Francis Jennings published *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant*

of Conquest. These works portrayed the English settlers of New England as rapacious land grabbers and detailed the process of dispossession of New England's Indians and the effects of Christianity upon them.

Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. introduced the biological dimensions of contact in *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, demonstrating that disease played a major factor in the destruction of Native habitats and populations. Henry Dobyns offered new assessments of the demography of Native American populations before European contact, dramatically revising estimates of Aboriginal population figures for the Americas to upward of 100 million. His work spawned a vigorous response in scholarly circles, and debates continue concerning the size of the Native population at the time of contact.[11]

Ethnohistory emerged as a dominant methodology in the study of American Indians in the early 1950s, when historians writing about Native Americans discovered their ties with anthropologists as students of culture. Their work was prompted by the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, which allowed Indian people to press claims against the federal government for infringement of treaty rights to land. The investigation of claims required Indians to present testimony concerning their traditional land areas, subsistence patterns, and land usage. Scholars preparing testimony for tribes had to use both original documents and testimony by Native people about their pasts. Historians learned about the importance of culture in historical study, and anthropologists learned the value of historical documentation for cultural study.[12]

The development of ethnohistory shifted the focus of scholarship in anthropology from studies of acculturation (e.g., the total displacement of cultural values of a subordinate group by those of a dominant group) to studies of cultural survival, adaptation, and renascence. James Axtell addressed the need to consider situations of cultural contact from the perspectives of both cultures in *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (1981). His book *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (1985) highlighted the responses of Indians in New France and New England to Jesuit and Puritan missionaries. Anthony F. C. Wallace's *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1969) described the Handsome Lake religion

among the Seneca in the first years of the nineteenth century and demonstrated the power of religious revitalization movements in reshaping and reasserting Indian cultural values. James Merrell studied the adaptation and survival of the Catawbas on the East Coast in *The Indians' New World.*

During the 1970s Indians emerged not as passive and disappearing cultural victims but as dynamic entities in history. Although environmentalists adopted the Indian almost as a mascot of conservation (e.g., Iron Eyes Cody, an Indian actor, shed a silent tear on the banks of a polluted stream in a television commercial and widely distributed poster), serious scholars examined Indian uses and control of their environments. The early work of Carl Sauer on the use of fire for environmental management was complemented by such studies as Henry Lewis's *Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory.* Calvin Martin, in *Keepers of the Game,* moved the discussion of Indian relationships with nature in a new direction, analyzing the role of Indian hunting in the decline of fur-bearing animal populations in the Northeast woodlands in terms of a spiritually inspired war on the animals. William Cronon examined the interaction of New England culture and environment in *Changes in the Land.* He stressed the dynamic nature of Indian cultures, their control of their environments, and their strategies of adapting to changing patterns of subsistence after European colonists arrived.

The emerging field of archaeoastronomy has shown that Indians were keenly aware of celestial cycles associated with seasons; they recorded the cycles in rock paintings, in medicine wheels, and in patterns of light and shadow, such as that displayed by the Sun Dagger, which marks the sun's solstice points at Fajada Butte near Chaco Canyon in New Mexico. The movement of star clusters such as the Pleiades and the three bright stars of Orion's belt was used to determine the timing of certain ceremonies or to mark planting seasons for many tribes.[13] Studies of Indian plant domestication and agricultural practices reached new levels of sophistication with the development of flotation techniques to recover plant materials from archaeological sites and electron microscopes to detect changes in seed form that indicate domestication.[14]

Because language is an essential cultural marker, language studies played an important part in the development of Native American studies programs, whose curricula have generally included Native

language instruction. The University of Minnesota offers Ojibwa and Lakota classes. At the University of Oklahoma, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Kiowa are currently taught. In the field of sociolinguistics, scholarly studies by Gary Witherspoon of the Navajo language and by Keith Basso of Western Apache introduce new ideas demonstrating aspects of Native languages as a cognitive system.

Renewed scholarly attention has been paid to Indian voices in autobiographies. Several personal narratives collected by ethnographers in the 1930s were reissued in the 1960s and 1970s, most notably *Black Elk Speaks,* whose genesis demonstrates both the promise and problems of autobiographies as anthropological, historical, and literary sources.[15]

Black Elk Speaks can be read as a collaboration between a non-Indian novelist and poet, John Neihardt, and a Native holy man, Black Elk, who represents a truly Lakota sensibility. This book can also be viewed as the product of Neihardt's romanticized vision of the Lakota and their tragic decline. If the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes, the book demonstrated the importance of oral history for Native American studies. It also became the subject of numerous critical literary studies and a major exegesis, *The Sixth Grandfather*, by Ray Demallie, which placed it in historical and cultural context. Demallie offered a sophisticated critique that analyzed traditional Lakota religious beliefs and history—White interaction in the late nineteenth century and Black Elk's life history, including his conversion to Catholicism.

On another level, *Black Elk Speaks* demonstrates the conjunction of history and memory reflected in much of the literature produced by contemporary Indian writers and poets. If the reality and impact of visionary experiences in traditional Lakota society are essential to Black Elk's narrative, the reality of the mystical world is necessary too in the powers that Fleur, the medicine woman, commands in Louise Erdrich's *Tracks*. The ghost of John Stink plays a prominent role in the history of the Osage Indians in the late nineteenth century, the subject of *Mean Spirit* by Linda Hogan.

The recognition of American Indian fiction as a distinctive genre in contemporary literary studies effectively began with N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in

1968. Momaday mixes memory and history with vivid descriptions of the New Mexico landscape to convey the alienation the protagonist Abel feels in Los Angeles.

Native American art has been the subject of scholarly study for a number of years, but in the early 1970s studies of ledger art became important in portraying the transition of Indian cultures from traditional lifestyles to confinement on reservations in the mid-nineteenth century. Art becomes history, as in the work of Karen Petersen, Helen Blish, and Candace Green.

In the field of fine arts, several scholars began to focus on the aesthetic qualities of American Indian material culture. Christian F. Feest, an Austrian scholar working in Vienna, produced *Native Arts of North America*, providing a counterpoint to the older anthropological interpretative framework of Franz Boas. Feest contributed significantly to the development of a history of American Indian art, shifting the analysis from the collection of ethnographic materials as cultural *curiosities* to discussion of the stylistic techniques and aesthetic qualities of these works. The establishment of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1962 encouraged the development of new artistic styles by Indian artists. Allan Houser and Fritz Scholder taught at the institute and influenced a generation of students to break away from the flat, pictorial style that had characterized the work of artists trained at The Studio, the institute's predecessor in Santa Fe. Scholarly attention to the history of these developments in Indian painting and sculpture has produced a number of recent works.[16]

Intellectual Coherence in Native American Studies

In 1978 Russell Thornton suggested a group of unique intellectual areas as the bases for developing American Indian studies as an academic discipline: oral traditions, treaties and treaty rights, tribal government, forms of social organization, group persistence, American Indian epistemology, and contemporary issues.[17] As a result of the trends in scholarship inspired by and contributing to the development of Native American studies as an academic area, I propose that an intellectual framework is now emerging. It incorporates Thornton's concepts into paradigms from several disciplines, primarily anthropology, history, literary criticism, and legal studies.

The key ideas that constitute an intellectually coherent statement of the nature of the field of Native American or American Indian studies include tribal sovereignty, the importance of relationships to land in cultural identity, the importance of culture in understanding the effects of first contacts between Europeans and Native Americans, and the significance of Native languages as cognitive structures. These ideas have inspired scholarly studies and have been refined by the results of those studies.

Tribal sovereignty is essential to the continued existence of American Indian tribes in contemporary society. It both depends on and contributes to the cultural integrity of tribes, as Deloria and Lytle pointed out in 1984. The idea of tribal sovereignty is thus critical to studies of past and present Indian cultural and political identity. Tribes have asserted their rights to self-government based on Aboriginal occupancy of lands in North America and on treaty rights negotiated with colonial governments and the United States. These latter rights have given tribes a unique legal and political status, but one that has evolved over time. The study of Indian-White relations through history has an intellectually distinctive dimension that must be acknowledged.

Tribal sovereignty implies that Indian nations have the right to choose their own forms of government, pursue their own cultural forms of governing, determine their own membership, and retain government-to-government relationships with federal and state governments. Each of these powers is, however, complicated by both historical circumstances and the political positions of tribes in contemporary American society—taxation, regulation of gaming, economic development, and membership complicated by the intermixing of blood among Indian nations and between Indians and Whites. Indian gaming, a very modern phenomenon, is an interesting example. The *Indian Gaming Regulatory Act* of 1988 mandated that states and tribes enter into agreements with regard to casino gambling on reservations, a requirement that imposes federal regulations upon tribal governments. A recent Supreme Court decision (*Seminole Tribe of Florida v. United States*) has denied the constitutionality of the requirement because it imposes a federal mandate on state governments. Although the Supreme Court decision gives tribes freedom from state constraints, it also throws into significant doubt the mechanisms by which Indian gaming is to be implemented and

regulated. Understanding the complex issues of sovereignty depends upon recognition of the unique status of Indian tribes, the dynamics of cultural change and adaptation, and the historical evolution of legal systems within which tribal identities are embedded.

The importance of sovereignty to culture is demonstrated in the *National Museum of the American Indian Act* (1989) and the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (1990), which mandate the return to Native people of Indian human remains and cultural materials from museums and other federally funded repositories. These laws are premised on inherent tribal rights of ownership of those materials; both require museums to send information on their collections to federally recognized tribes and to consult with tribes in the process of determining tribal affiliation and usage. In terms of scholarship, repatriation legislation and practice requires examining in detail a range of information to determine affiliations, particularly for materials that predate European contact. Archaeologists will be asked to determine lines of descent that link contemporary tribal groups with precontact habitation sites and skeletal remains.[18]

Another key concept is that American Indians have a unique cultural and legal relationship with land. Although ethnographers and anthropologists have long acknowledged the critical role of environmental factors in shaping cultures, for contemporary Indian people, studies of religion and philosophy generally start from the premise that Indian cultures both shaped and were shaped by their environments.[19] The relationship is embedded historically in treaty rights. It is also essential in terms of contemporary literature and aesthetics. The Southwestern landscape plays an integral part in Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*. What characterizes Indian literature is its *situatedness* in place. Landscape is part of the story in a distinctive way. Indian painting, sculpture, crafts, and performance arts derive significantly from cultural affiliation with land.

Another key paradigm for Native American studies is that contact between cultures must be examined from the viewpoints of both cultures. If Indians disappeared from American history and largely from American consciousness in the early twentieth century, it was because the writing and study of history was embedded in a peculiarly Western European consciousness. As anthropologist Eric Wolf

points out, "We have been taught, inside the classroom and outside of it, that there exists an entity called the West, and that one can think of this West as a society and civilization independent of and in opposition to other societies and civilizations."[20]

History written from a particular cultural viewpoint essentially disregards the reality of other views. Ethnohistorians have attempted to construct the differing worldviews of historical actors in situations of initial contact. The study of contact situations has been enriched by the realization that culture is not *sui generis* but a fluid and changing phenomenon that constitutes webs of meaning within which people act.[21] The interpretation of historical encounters between Europeans and American Indians reveals much about not only Indian cultures but the cultural values of early European colonists.[22]

The study of Native languages is a critical part of a Native American studies curriculum. There is a resurgence of interest in preserving and reviving languages in Indian communities, and the federal Administration for Native Americans supports community efforts with limited federal grants. Although linguists have collected Native language materials for many years, Indian languages have been forcibly suppressed by boarding schools and federal policies aimed at assimilating Indians into American society. There are still approximately 209 Indian languages spoken in North America, but nearly 80 percent are in danger of extinction within the present or next generation. Although it is impossible to save many of these languages, the study of a Native language offers unique insights into a different way of organizing one's world conceptually. Studies about language can provide some of those insights.[23]

Indian cultures were strictly oral cultures before European contact and remained largely so even while European missionaries and explorers tried to reduce them to written form. The distinctive qualities of Indian languages—their attention to action, relationships, and frequent lack of precisely defined pronouns—derive from their dependence upon face-to-face contact between speaker and listener (e.g., social context is vital to understanding). The work of translating texts and the influence of speech styles on contemporary literature by Indian authors, even those who do not speak Native languages, are functions of the orality of Indian cultures.[24]

Tribal sovereignty and cultural integrity, relationship to land, problems of intercultural interpretation of history, and the centrality of language in understanding culture are essential themes in the developing discipline of Native American or American Indian studies. This is not an exhaustive list of ideas. It is broad enough, however, to subsume many ideas that have emerged throughout the history of Indian studies programs—the destructive power of stereotypes, diasporas of Indian tribes, and historical sources of contemporary social and economic problems on reservations and in urban communities. These themes interweave a coherent approach to the study of historical and contemporary American Indian communities.

Native American Studies in the Contemporary Academic World

Scholarship focused on Native Americans appears in a number of scholarly disciplines and with many of the trappings of conventional academic life. In the field of literature, Native American studies has developed the self-reflexivity that characterizes literary studies. N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, James Welch, and Gerald Vizenor are subjects of critical analyses, doctoral dissertations, and articles in two journals devoted to new scholarship in Native American studies, The *American Indian Quarterly* and *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*.[25]

Although Indian people will proclaim "There is no word for art in our language," the discussion around the creation of works of aesthetic beauty by Indian people, in both past and contemporary society, continues to produce new scholarship. The Native American Art Studies Association meets biennially. At its last meeting, scholars presented papers on rock art sites, ledger book art, and the work of contemporary Indian artists. Here, as in the field of literature, critical analysis is being applied to forms of Indian artistic expression.

Native and non-Native historians and anthropologists meet regularly at professional meetings to present research on Indian topics, albeit in relatively small numbers and generally on panels devoted exclusively to Indians. Degree-granting programs, including several at the master's degree level and one at the doctoral degree level, exist in colleges and universities in various parts of the country.

From political confrontation to affirmative action to multiculturalism, the presence of American Indians as both subjects of scholarship and scholars in their own right has created a new field of study that focuses a number of disciplinary viewpoints on a particular group (or groups) of people. As part of this process, disciplinary lines of inquiry have begun to blur. Anthropologists appear on panels at meetings of the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, and historians join anthropologists at meetings of the American Anthropological Association. The American Society for Ethnohistory brings together both disciplines. Linguistics and anthropology meld in studies of cognitive systems in language. Native American studies has thus promoted a model of truly interdisciplinary learning.

In 1977 a group of scholars working in or familiar with American Indian studies programs gathered at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) to discuss the development of a master's degree program in American Indian studies at UCLA and, in a broader context, to discuss the future of the field. There was general agreement that Indian studies was not an academic discipline, but that it had the potential to develop an intellectual framework to become one.[26] In the intervening 20 years, the development of new ideas, new approaches to the study of American Indians, and new forums for the exchange of ideas have given academic credibility to the study of American Indians in traditional disciplines and to the field of American Indian studies as an intellectual enterprise in its own right.[27]

Notes

1. Clara Sue Kidwell (Choctaw and Chippewa) directs the Native American Studies program at the University of Oklahoma.

2. Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 127-30.

3. Forbes, "Native Struggle for Liberation," 123-30; Talbot, "Indian Students," 93-102; Garvey and Johnson, "Government and the Indians," 151-88.

4. Fortunate Eagle, "Urban Indians," 46; Kemnitzer, "Personal Memories," 103-09.

5. Miller, "Involvement in an Urban University," 327, 331.

6. Given the highly variable definitions of what constitutes a Native

American or American Indian studies program, it is difficult to say how many have actually existed over time. A measure of their shifting fortunes is found in three studies: a survey of 100 programs in 1974 conducted by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE), a second WICHE survey in 1976-77, and a survey of 107 institutions conducted in 1980-81 by the American Indian Culture and Research Center at UCLA. The overlap between the second WICHE survey and the UCLA survey was only 57 institutions, from which we can infer that although new programs had emerged, many programs that existed in 1976-77 had changed or disappeared by 1981. For more information, see Locke, *Survey of College and University Programs* (1974); Locke, *Survey of College and University Programs* (1978); and Heth and Guyette, *Issues for the Future.*

7. See Bloom, *Closing of the American Mind;* Schlesinger, *Disuniting of America;* and D'Souza, *Illiberal Education.*

8. Information on the programs was gleaned from a selective search of college and university Internet sites, identified through the Infoseek Web browser and personal knowledge. The American Indian Studies Center at UCLA has recently conducted a survey of 12 programs; results are available from Dr. Duane Champagne, director of the center. Dr. Robert Nelson at the University of Richmond has conducted a survey for the Association for the Study of American Indian Literature and produced a new guide listing 69 Native American studies programs. An electronic version of the guide is available at http://www.richmond.edu/~rnelson/guide.html (12 December 1998).

9. See Carnegie Foundation, *Tribal Colleges* and Boyer, *Native American Colleges.*

10. Wilkinson, *American Indians,* 14. Earlier studies that focused on American Indians include Lindquist, *Red Man in the United States;* Schmeckebier, *Office of Indian Affairs;* Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration;* Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law;* and Brophy, Aberle, and others, *The Indian.*

11. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population," 395-416. See also Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography* and Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust.*

12. Tanner, "Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin," 65-68.

13. See Aveni and Urton, *Ethnoastronomy;* Aveni, *Native American Astronomy;* Ceci, "Watchers of the Pleiades"; Chamberlain, *When Stars Came Down to Earth;* and Williamson, *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas.*

14. See Struever, "Flotation Techniques" and Ford, *Prehistoric Food Production.*

15. See Linderman, *Red Mother;* Neihardt and Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks;* Plenty-Coups, *American;* Left Handed, *Son of Old Man Hat;* Left Handed, *Left Handed;* and Talayesva, *Sun Chief.*

16. See Highwater, *Song From the Earth;* Wade, *Arts of the North American Indian;* and Archuleta and Strickland, *Shared Visions.*

17. Thornton, "American Indian Studies," 10-18.

18. Trope and Echo-Hawk, "Native American Graves Protection," 38-43, 54-59.

19. See Bennett, *Ecological Transition;* Oliver, *Ecology;* Steward, *Evolution and Ecology;* and Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places.*

20. Wolf, *Europe,* 5.

21. Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures,* 5, 144.

22. See, for example, Galloway, "The Chief Who is Your Father."

23. Goddard, "Introduction," 3. Studies about Native language include Hymes, *In Vain* and Hinton, *Flutes of Fire.*

24. See Kroeber, *Traditional Literatures.*

25. See Velie, *Four American Indian Literary Masters.*

26. The results of the meeting were published as a special issue of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4 (1978).

27. For current listings of Native American studies programs, visit the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small School's on-line *Native Education Directory* at http://www.ael.org/eric/ned.htm (12 December 1998).

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